LXIX

THE REMONSTRANCE OF THE KINGDOME OF ENGLAND, TO THE UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

With A Review of the COVENANT.

By way of Quære.

IN SATISFACTION TO ALL those who desire thorow information of the Danger thereof.

Printed for the publique good. 1647.

THE REMONSTRANCE OF THE Kingdome of ENGLAND to the Vniverſities of OXFORD and CAMBRIDGE, Concerning the late Covenant, which is now preſſing upon the Kingdome.

Sheweth,

THat the Eyes of the whole land are now fixed upon you, to behold your demeanour in this action, which therefore is like to prove the forge, wherein you ſhall worke out to your ſelves either a laſting fame, or infamy; that the example of your conſtancy in the deniall of this Covenant will throughly confirme both the conſciences and outrages of thoſe weake ones, who are almoſt yeilding to the threats and pretences of reaſon, wherewith this Oath is to be urged.

That the ſubtile enemy doth already take advantage of your ſilence, to noiſe abroad your willingneſſe to take this Oath when it ſhall be tendred: ſo that many deluded ones amongſt us have ſubſcribed to the rumour of your example: and thoſe of us who out of a well-grounded Conſcience have refuſed it, do ſuffer under the guilt of obſtinate and ignorant malignants; ſince we dare deny that, which, is ſaid, a whole Univerſity doth aſſent unto.

And therefore, as you will anſwer before G C D the loſſe of thoſe weake ſoules, who by the aforeſaid falſe rumour may be ſeduced, & as you will anſwer before His Majeſty (whom we doubt not but God will once againe ſet in the Throne of his Fathers) the loſſe of our Eſtates and liberties, which is certaine, if we ſhall deny this Oath, when it may be ſaid that you received it; we conjure you, that you will, (both to confirme our Conſciences, and alſo to take off from us (& from every ſingle man of your ſelves too) the envy and dan-

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ger of particular refuſals) make a timely and generall Declaration of your unanimous diſſent from the taking of this oath, ſo derogatory to the Honour of God, ſo deſtructive to the peace of the Church, and ſo prejudiciall, in the Conſequence, to His Majeſties Juſt Rights and Power: And we ſhall ever pray for your flouriſhing eſtate.

You are farther requeſted, that this our Remonſtrance be read in your Chappels, and (ſo far as without danger it may) be imparted to the reſt of the Univerſity.

To the Right Worſhipfull the Reverend Deane of *Chriſt-Church* theſe

preſent.

LXX

A WARNING

For all the COUNTIES of ENGLAND

To awake ſpeedily out of their dreames, and apply themſelves to all juſt meanes for the recoverie and preſervation of their Liberties, becauſe of a preſent deſigne to expell the moſt faithfull out of their Houſe of Commons, and to fruſtrate all the Countries good Elections, that ſo the Malignant party may bring the free Commons of *England* now (after all their bloudy ſufferings) into cruel Thraldome, and make themſelves Lords over them.

JER. 5. 1, 2.

Run to and thorough the ſtreets in Jeruſalem, [*as it may be truly ſaid of* Weſtminſter *and* London] *and ſee now, and know, and ſeeke in the broad places thereof, if ye can finde a man, if there be any that executeth judgment, that ſeeketh the truth, and I will pardon it.*

And though they ſweare the Lord liveth, ſurely they ſweare falſly.

HOSEA 10. 4.

They have ſpoken words, ſwearing falſly, in making a Covenant.

WEE the free Commoners of *England*, have been (for the generall part) like Merchant-Adventurers, who according to the Poet, *Per varios caſus, per tot diſcrimina rerum*, &c. through many great difficulties and dangers do ſaile into far Countries, with great coſts and charges to fetch home rich Treaſures, the which when they have gotten, they do return therwith joyfully: and yet upon their own Coaſts, or in the very harbour at home, through the negligence, or ambition, pride, covetouſneſſe, falſhood, or contention of the Ship-Maſter, or his Mariners, do ſuffer wrack, and loſe the fruit of all their coſts, Adventures, and travels.

Have not we done the like to fetch home thoſe invaluable treaſures of Liberty and Juſtice, which were carryed ſo far remote (as almoſt paſt recovery) by theſe two notorious State-Robbers, boundleſſe-Prerogative and predominant Tyrannie; and yet now after all our expence of men, time, trade, and monies, with innumerable difficulties, & dangers overpaſt we are through the pride, ambition, covetouſneſſe, treachery, and contention of our Ship-Maſters, and their Miniſters (unleſſe wee our ſelves the free Commons of *England*, do timeouſly ſtand up, and lay hold upon the tackling) like to periſh utterly, and loſe the pretious Treaſures for which we have adventured ſo far, and paid ſo deare.

For now though the war be ended, and that there are none in armes to abridg us of our liberries, or to turn back the ſword of Juſtice, & that according to the Proteſtation, Vow, Covenant, & manifold Declarations, we look for judgment, but behold more abundant oppreſſion; for righteouſneſſ, but behold a more hiddeous cry, a cry of millions of Widdowes, fatherleſſe, and friendleſſe, of maymed, and diſmembred, of plundered, ſequeſtred, and deſtroyed, of unjuſtly impriſoned, and oppreſſed, of deſpiſed perſecuted, and hated, for truth and conſcience ſake, of defrauded, and deceived, of deſerving men; and Souldiers ſleighted, rejected, and unpaid, *cum multis, aliis quos jam preſcribere longum eſt*; and the eares that ſhould heare are deafe, and the eyes that ſhould pitty are blinde, verifying the old Proverb; who are more blind then they that will not ſee?

And are not certain men of *Beliall*, whom we have unhappily choſen and intruſted to man, and mannage forth this great Bark of our State, for the regaining of thoſe rich Treaſures (for which wee have expended ſo much pretious bloud, and ſo much ineſtimable wealth) now ſtudying and endeavouring after ſo many ſtormes and tempeſts, rockes and ſands eſcaped, to deprive us of all the fruit and benefit of our Adventure? And among many of their treacherous devices, this which I ſhall here diſcover is not the leaſt, or moſt inconſiderable, to wit.

To enforce the taking of (the Scorch hooke, I meane) the Covenant, upon all the Members of the Houſe of Commons, without reſpect to tender conſciences, and in caſe of refuſall, to ſuſpend or expel, as if the Covenant were eſſentiall, or that without it, a man could not bee capable to ſerve his Country in the Parliament, uſing it no otherwayes, then as an *index expurgatorius*, to expunge out of the Houſe the moſt upright & conſcientious, ſerviceable, & faithfull to their countries, contrary to the firſt end or enjoyning it, which was to diſcover the malignant party, & not to drive away the approved and faithful; but ſo they do, that they may pack to themſelves (as Cheates do Cards) a ſet of Members for their own Game; the which ſubtil and ſerpentine courſe, ſo little ſeen or noti-

fyed abroad, will certainly (without prevention) ruine us utterly; For they doe but bind themselves by oathes to work wickednesse, and as the Psalmist saith, *Psalm 49. frame mischiefe for a Law. And we may most justly cry, A confederacy, a confederacy, a Plot, a Plot, a Plot consisting of a threefold cord* (and therefore not easily broken) *of Prerogative Lords, Presbyterian Commons, and Malignant Citizens. But here is comfort, The Lord shall bee our Sanctuary, Esa. 8. 14. and he will disappoint their devices, so that they shall not be able to accomplish their enterprize, for their councels shall be carried head-long.* Iob. 5. 13, 14.

Awake, awake, therefore O ye free Commons of England, and let not your servants ride, while ye your selves are by them trampled under foot. Can there be a greater presumption, or a more intollerable abuse then this, to trample upon your native rights and immunities in such a contemptuous sort before your faces? for what availeth the free-men of England, to have the power of electing their own Members for Parliaments, if a few presumptuous persons (their fellowes, yea their servants (more subtill (though not more honest) then the rest may by any strange new found Engine, expel and extrude their Trustees the Commons House, without any just cause: this is to let the people chose, & then they will cull, and this they are now about, if they can attain unto it.

If it bee not a plot, to drive the most faithfull and serviceable for the Countries good, why is the Covenant now in the time of no hostility, and of lesse cause of jealousie, more zealously and violently pressed & imposed in the House of Commons, then ever it was in the worst and most perillous times, there is now (blessed be God) no such cause amongst them (as was then) of distrusts and feares, unlesse it be by treacherous and Lord-like spirits, least they should be detected and anticipated in their treasonable & treacherous designes, and disappointed of their imperiours rule, & domineering power over their fellow Commoners, & why must those persons, whose fidelity hath been sufficiently approved in the sight of the whole world, be now suspended and expelled, if they shall refuse the taking of this make-bate Covenant, although they have alwayes refused it & would never take it, in the time of greatest diffidence, extremity, & doubt, & yet were then never suspected, or in the least, therefore opposed or interrupted, nor is there any such strictnesse used for Malignants, and Delinquents, and our professed Adversaries to take it, many of them are & have bin dismissed without it; yet not a man now in the House must escape it, although his conscience scruple it, & his judgment doth not approve it, a Mysterie! a miserie!

The end (if I mistake not) of the Peoples assembling of a Parliament, is principally, and primarily, to receive their Petitions, to heare

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hear their complaints, and to redreſſe their grievances, to ſecure the good and wholſome Lawes, to aboliſh the bad and impertinent, and inſtead thereof to provide and make new for the peoples further and future welfare, to execute juſtice and judgment, to deliver the unjuſtly impriſoned, and to relieve the oppreſſed, and not to ſpend their daies and ſtudies upon queſtions fruitleſs and unprofitable for the Common-wealth, in deviſing and preſcribing to themſelves (like ſome lawleſſe Lords of Mannors) boundleſſe priviledges, which differ in nothing from exorbitant Prerogatives, in forging and framing of Oathes and Covenants (which ſavour more of policy then piety) for gins and ſnares, in making parties, and diſputing of particular intereſts, in exhauſting the people of great ſums, and when they are gathered, in diſpoſing of them among themſelves.

But theſe men, now having by the new modell of an *Independent* Army (as they and their gracious creatures are pleaſed to terme it, unto which under God they doe owe their lives and beings, yea, and their beſt endeavours, for the ſafety they now enjoy, who before, for fear, ſate (as I may ſay) like a company of wild fowle, upon the watch and the wing, expecting daily when to fly) ſubdued their ſo much feared adverſary, are labouring ſtrenuouſly to make a new modelled Parliament out of the old mold, that ſo they may advance their own power to pull downe their firſt and beſt Aſſiſtants; deſtroy the Liberty of the people, and eſtabliſh that by Law for their owne advantage, whereunto (they know) thoſe faithful ones wil not concur nor conſent, and the which they could never have had the opportunity to have done, had they not been beholding unto them for the uſe of their ſword. O honourable reward! O rare gratitude!

Happily it will be ſaid, I am too bold: I believe indeed, I am more bold then welcome, but it matters not, for my boldneſſe is only converſant about that which concerns me, and all the Freemen of *England*: Truth ſuffers too much by ſimple ſilence: let them be quiet ſlaves that love to be ſo, I do not, & if this ill kind of men wil not hear of their own evil doings let them do none, if they deſire not to be reproved, let them do nothing that is reprovable, and then they may with confidence look up. None but a gauled horſe will kick when he is troubled; nay, oftentimes before he is touched: and that Maſter truly deſerves to be deceived and abuſed by his ſervants, that knowes and ſees they deceive and abuſe him, and will neither reprove nor queſtion them.

The power is ours and not theirs, and we lent it not them to deſtroy us; I am confident the meaneſt Ruſtick in the Kingdom, did not intend it, nor can any ſuch men think, that plaine Clubs and clouted ſhooes will be ſo contented: the people are not ſo ſtupid, but do expect a more exact ac-

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compt and ample satisfaction, then they have yet had, for their profuse expence of wealth and blood, yea and better fruits then they have yet received after full six years session, or els assuredly they will never be pleased nor appeased. And it is dangerous raising the great waters, for they are not so easily allayed.

The City petitioned with their former Remonstrance, that not an honest man in the Kingdome, who was not of their judgement, (for such was the expression in effect) might have any place of trust or office in the Common-wealth. And doth not this present practice of some certain men in the House of Commons, intend as much both in Parliament, and Kingdome? for none shall be accounted worthy (by their good will) to sit among them unlesse he take the Covenant, be of their mind, sing their note, and subject their judgements to their crooked wills, and their persons to their illegall, irregular Ordinances and Orders. O just Powers! O pure priviledges!

Yeeld this, and yeeld all: lay downe the Bucklers here, and give them the field. Why do we therefore sit musing? let us up and be doing, for if now, we will neither heare nor see, we shall seddenly feele, and that to our sorrow and shame, why then doe we sit still, untill our Liberties be betrayed, and wee and our posterities inslaved? Let us therefore demand a reason of this, and of all other their illegall and unjust practices and proceedings, and let us see and know what matter of fact or just cause of exception, they have to charge upon any, who are justly chosen, before they do suspend or exclude them from their Councels and Assembly. And if they doe refuse to do us justice, maintaine our Liberties, and to yeeld us redresse according to our distresses, and the duty of their places, let us declaime against them, and disclaime them, remonstrate, and renounce all their Ordinances and Orders, doe as the London Butchers have done, and yeeld them no more obedience, assistance or contribution. For why should we stand still, to be bound in our own garters? observe and preserve them, to be inthralled by our own power?

And for the more manifestation, that it is a plot, and practice, by the vile of the House and their confederates, against the faithful of the House & their friends, by those that would sell, and betray us and our Liberties, & deliver us up for slaves, to serve their owne unrighteous ends, against those that would preserve us and our Liberties, and faithfully discharge their trust and duty to their Countreys, I will here by the way, propound a few Quæries.

1. Whether the taking of the *Scotch* 400000.l. Covenant bee essentiall to an English Parliament? If not: Why then must not hee be

thought fit to sit in this Parliament, that taketh it not, there being no other just exception against him?

2. Whether it be not contrary to the Law of GOD, and of this Nation, to obtrude an Oath upon any man contrary to his conscience? if yea. Why then doe they who are chosen to preserve the known Lawes, and the Peoples immunities, and that have voluntarily sworne thereunto, impose Oathes and Covenants with violence, and those new and strange ones, dubious, and mysterious upon the Freemen of *England*, especially on their own Members? and are not these thus first in perjury themselves?

3. Whether this practice be not in its own nature, and intent answerable to that point of the Cities former Petition and Remonstrance, wherein they pray that none disaffected to the Presbyterian Government, &c. may be employed in any place of publike trust? If it bee, (as indeed they are as like, as ever were two twins, yea, as if they were both spit out of one mouth) whether this designe not the same in its nature & end, with that of the Cities former Petition and Remonstrance, and of as (if not a more) dangerous consequence?

4. Whether it be not directly against the native rights and immunities of all the free born of this Nation, to suspend and expell, without just cause, by a new devised Engin of their own, any Member of Parliament justly and freely chosen by the people, and by them intrusted and sent to Negotiate for their welfare in publike?

5. And lastly, notwithstanding all their many (feigned) Fasts and Humiliation, Oathes, Vowes, Promises, Pretences and Protestations, what one just, or good deed, have these sort of men done, or suffered to be done for the Publique, since that Evening the King departed. *Dic quaeso, & mihi teris alter Apollo*, The People cry: *None*: and let them shew if they can.

The poore oppressed prisoners for debt, have petitioned them above these five years, only for redresse according to *Magna Charta*, and there are at this instant above 300. copies thereof delivered to the Members of the House of Commons to that purpose, and yet cannot these perishing prisoners have their Petition either read, heard, or granted, nor receive any kind of redresse, but still lye and languish in their miseries under the hands of cruell creditors, and extorting Goalers, who use them more like villaines then Christians, or free-born men of *England*.

Were it to passe an Ordinance for the paying this, or that man among themselves, his arreares, who happily was never out one pennie, but hath rather repaired a broken estate, (as it is well known many of them

them have) by the ſervice of the State, they would preſently order a day to diſpatch and paſſe it.

A bleſſed Generation, and mighty and the hopes, which this long diſeaſed, and diſtempered Nation hath, of recovering by them.

Now heare O heavens, and hearken O earth, and judge, all ye Nations of the earth, between the free Commons of *England*, and this their *deare Parliament*.

Vertamur in Syllam, Cupientes vitare Charibdem.

By ſeeking to avoid one Tyrant, we are likely to fall into the hands of many.

This ſort of men, have already by this device, cauſed Major *Harriſon* (a late choſen Member) to leave the Houſe, and though an approved, godly man, occaſioned him to go into *Ireland*, for otherwiſe, becauſe his conſcience could not admit of the Covenant, they would haue ſuſpended or compelled, and others that ſtay, being unwilling to leave there places, will be ſo inſnared, as that they can neither be free in there Councels, Speech, or Votes. And what then I pray is this Parliament? An *Engliſh* one, or a *French*? or not rather a *Norman*?

Wherefore, good Countrey-men; out, and looke about, for the threed is very fine ſpunn: the diſtinction is very ſubtill, and can hardly be diſcerned, it is as little in pronunciation, (preſence I meane) as between *Sibboleth*, and *Shibboleth*, they have the voice of *Iacob*, but the hands of *Eſau*: Howſo ver the Apoſtles rule is ſure, ye ſhall know them by their works: And if my ſight faile no, there is one *Stapleton* (an *Hothmite*) and one *Hollis* (an *Edomite*) that have a chiefe hand in this plot: Long have they been hammering of it, and now they have found a time and opertunity to act it, others I could name, their fellow confederates traitors to their Countrey, and enemies to the fundamentall Lawes, and publick Liberties, Lambs they are in ſhow, Foxes in Councel, and deſtructive in practice and action. Great Heads and Politicians men call them; who by pretended Reaſon, would make you beleeve that Rats-bane is as good for you as a Cordial; argue ye out of your Chriſtian name, and can propound you a neceſſity for plain deceipt, and knavery. A company of cunning, crafty, deceitfull workers. Obſerve and conſider them, ye do too often deliver your mindes and purpoſes into Snakes boſoms, now make ye but good uſe of this warning peece, and ye may happily before long, have a liſt of them, &

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of their good actions, that ſo ye may ſee, what jugglers and Impoſtors yee have intruſted and imployed; and accordingly call them to an accompt, and provide for your ſelves a remedy againſt the like abuſe, and treachery.

And now they have voted the disbanding of the Army, let us beware leaſt they vote away all our Rights and Liberties, as in divers particulars they have begun, if we will but ſit ſtill and let them go on.

The Authors of this good worke, are the ſame, which doe ſo violently preſſe the Covenant, ye may (as I tell you, plainly know them if ye will but marke them) and I doubt not but the ſame *Stapleton* and *Hollis* can both name and number unto you the men, both principall and complices, long have they travelled both in heart and braine with this admirable deſigne, but could never untill now finde a ſeaſon to bring it forth. They ſtreigned to have had this Army disbanded, even while there was an Army of another Nation lodging within our bowels; but then it was ſo unſeaſonable, that even the weaker ſort and ſuch among them of more imperfect ſight, (who like Children are led by the glow-worme light of anothers deceiptfull reaſon, or that like unto men, who having loſt their way in the night, doe follow an *Ignis fatuus* for a true guide) were againſt it, and ſo then *it could not be carried.*

But the *Scots* are now no ſooner gone, have ſcarce ſet up their horſes at home, and looſened their Swords from their Loynes, but this inoffenſive Army is to be disbanded, and why? are the people ſo well ſetled? are things ſo wel reformed and rectified, and are the people ſo fully ſatisfied? is not every man diſcontented, and diſtaſting the unjuſt proceedings of the Parliament? I wiſh there were no cauſe for it: but who ſeeth not that there is more wickedneſſe and miſchiefe wrought now by Authority, and more plots and devices daily framed and acted to ſpoile us of our Liberties, and rob us of our Lawes, (the bulwarke to ſecure every mans right) then ever was yet unto this day by open enemies.

There was no ſuch haſte or importunity to have Major Generall *Maſſies* Brigade diſſolved, although multitudes of complaints came againſt it, and that there was of a long time no uſe of it: yet this muſt not ſtay, nor be demurred on? And I could wiſh that ye ſhould in ſome degree, ſee the working of this Myſtery.

The ſame men that have produced this work, did firſt contrive it, and may juſtly be ſuſpected to deliver the plat-forme thereof to the City, who gave it forme, and caſt it into a Petition and Remonſtrance, and, then preſented it at an appointed time to the Parliament, having the

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Lords ſure and wholly, and aſſurance (yee may conceive) of countenance in the Houſe of Commons, and note that the acceptance, which this their laſt Petition and Remonſtrance found, was anſwerable to this preſent effect, and that the Houſe hath ever ſince acted according to the heads of it, for hence, under pretence of ſatisfying the Citizens in their Petition, the Covenant muſt be urged, an Order made againſt, (edifying each other in the Goſpell, teaching and interpreting the Scriptures, by any other, then Canonicals, (as if the gifts of the Spirit of God, were onely intailed upon a Black-coat, Hye for Biſhops) that none ſhould preach the Word of God, but ſuch as had Ordination from the Pope, for ſuch is that (by derivation) which they doe mean and enjoyn; and now they have anſwered another point of the ſame Petition, to wit, in voting the disbanding of this Army. But is not the whole Kingdome as worthy of ſatisfaction, as the proud Malignant, illegall Mayor of *London*, and his like Brethren the Aldermen, and a few illegall Common-Councell-men?

There was a Petition preſented the other week from the Counties of *Hertford* and *Buckingham*, for Juſtice and confirmation of liberty, and many other excellent benefits for the Publike, but that cannot be heard, nor have an anſwer, although they have been attended by ſome of the Counties ever ſince, yea ſome would have had it caſt out of the Houſe; ſuch men doe moſt juſtly deſerve to be themſelves caſt out as dirt, or as Salt which hath loſt its ſavour: Shall we be preſcribed by them what to Petition for? Muſt we preſent our grievances, as ſhall pleaſe them, or as we feel their pulſe?

Ye ſee and hear now Countrey-men, and are by this like to feel of what ſpirit theſe men are, and what comfortable redreſſe you are like to have, if yee will be content with their courſes: away with ſuch men from the Earth.

Theſe men are like *Strafford* and *Canterbury*, birds of the Lords feathers, (by their promotion or recommendation) and they look, if they can but make us ſlaves, that they might be all Lorded with their Lordſhips; but I had rather ſee the heads of all Traytors to the free-commonalty of *England* divided from their ſhoulders.

It was very requiſite, and wiſely done, that they ſhould vote down this Army, becauſe it is the onely block, and ſtumbling-ſtone to their deſigne of Presbytery and Lordly predominancy, and that it may not be a refuge pillar for the oppreſſed and diſtreſſed Commons of *England* whereon to leane, in claiming of juſtice, and of their juſt rights and liberties; down it muſt be, but no mention of reward for it, nor of raiſing moneyes to pay it;

but now they have done what they did require, what ſhould they do with them but turn them out of doores: ſo having done with the rod, all that remains for them now, is, to deviſe how to caſt it into the fire.

The next act, will be a re-eſtabliſhing the King on his Throne, in caſe he ſhal but eſtabliſh the many-headed monſter of Presbytery, that ſo the Lords and the Lairds here (as the Scotch-man ſaith) that is, the chief man of every Town and Pariſh, may with the domineering Presbytery, rule the roſt, and tyrannize over the common People here, their eſtates and liberties, as the good Lords and Lairds, with their Presbytery, do over the poor ignorant Lord-ridden People there. And here will be a confirmation of that pretended happy union between both Kingdoms. And thus both Nations will be both one, and alike equall in ſlavery and thraldome, that the one may not mock the other any longer.

Is there never a *Roman* ſpirit left, that dare interpoſe, and proteſt for his Countrey, againſt theſe deſtructive Councells, and Votes for *Norman* Bondage? I am confident it would be a gratefull act, and would not want owners: yet for my part, I take not ſuch their Votes for Decrees, like thoſe of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, unalterable; nor their illegall Ordinances for binding Lawes. And I hope I am not alone in this judgement; for we are not bound to obey to our own deſtruction: this principle, the ſafety of the people to be the ſoveraigne Law, is as true and as uſefull for the people as for the Parliament. They are not choſen to make themſelves our Lords, and us their ſlaves; but to free us from all exorbitant powers and oppreſſions, and to eſtabliſh unto us our native Rights and Immunities, not to pretend the removall of a few old oppreſſors and oppreſſions, and to introduce many new ones in their ſtead, like the Tinker that mends one hole and makes two.

Now deare Countrimen, lay your hands upon your hearts, and if ye be willing after all, to become ſlaves to your fellowes and ſervants, ſit ſtill and be careleſſe, and keep your ſelves warme by your fires, and take a pipe or two of Tobacco. But if ye be of my minde, and on my ſide, rouze up your ſpirits, and ſhake off this careleſſe ſecurity; come, and boldly call your own ſervants to an account, and demand your own of them, with the advantage, know what improvement they have made for your good, of that talent of power and priviledge wherewith you have intruſted them, for the ſpace of full ſix yeares, and do not at the laſt, like *Iſſachars* Aſſe, crouch down between two burdens; inſupportable Presbytery, and intolerable Lordſhip. Let theſe men either forthwith redreſſe your grievances, and ratifie your native rights and liberties to you, according to their

Oaths,

Oaths, and end of their Election; or els remonſtrate to the world, and renounce them, and reſtrain the power within its proper fountain.

The beſt end of the Staffe is yet in our own hand; if we have but hearts to make uſe of it to our beſt advantage, which is to preſerve and ſecure our ſelves and poſterity, lives, eſtates, and liberties, from irrevocable and inextricable vaſſallage and thraldome.

One caution note good Countrimen, and I have done, and will leave all to your conſideration. May we not ſtill feare, in caſe this Army be disbanded, (the which let us pray and endeavour to preſerve, if we deſire either ſafety or liberty) that unleſſe we will condeſcend to the *Scots* (whoſe Commiſſioners lie here to negotiate) in things relative to the King and Church, for manner and forme, nay in every reſpect, that we ſhall be threatened againe with the Scotch blade. And who knoweth whether part of their late departed Army, may not (under the notion of oppoſing the Rebell *Montroſſe* in the North of that Kingdome) be reſerved in readineſſe, to menace, or re-invade us, in caſe we come not up to their punctilioes?

I hope better, though I feare the worſe; for who knoweth what a day may bring forth? It is good to foreſee what may be, and to provide for the worſt, although at preſent they do appeare like ſome clouds, which carrie ſtorms, far removed, and not likely to fall upon our heads; yet cannot I diſcern our skie to be ſo cleare, as that we may diſcard all feare: True it is, that the clouds are ſomwhat broken and diſperſt, but do ye know how ſoon the wind may turn North, and bring together again, to the renewing the ſtorm upon us? In my judgement the weather-cock of our State looks that way; and he is inſenſible, that feeleth not a Northern ayre in our Climate. And againe, have not the Malignants, and revenge-deſiring Delinquents, an advantage when this Army is diſſolved, to raiſe tumults and ſtirres, and by violence (as they have done heretofore) obtrude deſtructive Petitions, and inforce the Parliament to grant them, to the utter ruine both of Parliament and Kingdom? And what publike ſtrength then is there to ſuppreſſe them? The Trained Bands of *London*: like to like, as the Devill ſaid, when he danced with the Collier.

Nor will they only take away that faithfull, unparallel'd, well-govern'd Army, which hath (under God) preſerved you, and ſo leave you and your liberties open to the deſtructive Acts and Councells of your adverſaries; but will alſo appoint and ſet over you, in the others ſtead, an irreligious malignant Army of deſperate wicked men (ſuch as thoſe of Major Generall *Maſſeys* late Brigade) to awe and curbe you, ſo that unleſſe ye will

conforme to the indirect Directory, make your confeſſion to the Prieſts; after the manner of the Papiſts, and profeſſe the new-deviſed Confeſſion of Faith, a long-ſtudied Presbyterian Creed, ſuch as our Fathers never knew nor believed, ye ſhall be plundered: Thus ye ſhall have a Religion eſtabliſhed by the Sword, but not a Reformation according to the Word; the old *Eſſexian-Deſigne:* but he that took away the Head thereof (as with a whirle-wind) when his heart was full ſwolne with deſpight and pride, can as eaſily remove the inſtruments which are behind. In the mean time, it is well acted by *Phil.* the Jew, *Jack* and *Wil.* of *Wales*, and the Weſt-Countrey *Dennis. Gallant Lads:* brave *Cards and well packt*, they do never deale, but there's a *Knave* in the ſtock.

And for the better ordering of this deſigne, the ſame party had determined among themſelves, to have put out his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, as a man no longer worthy to be truſted, and to have put in (as I have heard) one Colonell *Graves*, one of the leaſt in account for vertue and goodneſſe, of all Sir *Thomas* his Commanders; a man indeed of no repute, either for piety or good practice; whoſe men were more like *Gorings* damning crew, then Parliament Souldiers: and uſually like Commander, like Souldier.

But after a long debate in the Houſe on Friday the fifth of *March*, as if they had never known Sir *Thomas*, nor had any experiment of his ability or fidelity, it was with great difficulty carried by a few more Votes, that he ſhould command in chief over their new intended Army, yet they are reſolved to chooſe him his Officers, as if he did not know now, as well as formerly, what men were fitteſt to be intruſted under him: and it muſt be diſputed alſo, whether any but ſuch as have taken the Covenant (the precious Covenant) ſhall be Commanders there or no, and why I pray, have not Sir *Thomas* his Commanders, who never took the Covenant, approved themſelves more faithfull, and done the Kingdome more good ſervice, then moſt ever did that took it? My opinion is, that man is more to be truſted, that refuſeth the Covenant for conſcience ſake, then he that takes it (as the great Maſters of the Aſſembly preſſe it) for policy and advantage ſake. Oh but this is a true Touch-ſtone to diſcover him that is contrary to their minde and deſigne!

And although they miſſed of their purpoſe, in voting away Sir *Thomas* himſelfe, they have voted away 8400 of his Foot, and foure Regiments of his horſe for *Ireland*, a ſpecious ſhew: But *Anguis latet ſub herba*, why were not *Maſſies* Horſe (which might better have been ſpared, and were much more fit for the temper of that corrupted Climate) ſent thither?

Or

Or why are they not now ſought out and imployed that way? There are enough of them and ſuch others very well at leiſure, and would be glad of the ſervice upon reaſonable termes; you may heare of them at every Taverne and Alehouſe, if not ſomtime in a worſe place. Without doubt there might as many ſpare-Officers and Souldiers be gathered up about the two Cities, and the Garriſons diſmantled and to be diſmantled, and in other parts, as would make a ſufficient Army for *Ireland*, without taking any from Sir *Thomas*: Col. *Poyntz* I believe could ſpare ſome, and all of them ſuch as they may better truſt, free-Covenanters, men of their own ſtamp and judgment: I conceive it no policy for them to truſt any Independents in that deſperate Kingdome, men whom they do ſo much diſtruſt here at home, where comparatively there is no danger.

And why ſhould this party intruſt the ſame people in a Kingdome of greateſt danger, and that in matters of higheſt nature, without ſwearing to the Covenant, whom they will not truſt here at home, with a beggarly Headborough or petty Conſtables place without it? O admirable confidence! But this is a paradox, and I will unfold it.

Is it not to pack away this approved Army, which ſtands ſo much in the way, for *Ireland*, againſt the Rebells, as *David* did faithfull *Uriah*, to *Rabbah*, againſt the *Ammonites*, and then to raiſe one new out of the diſbanded crew of deſperate men, reſerved and left behind to act their deſigne: for the Devill and his ſervants are beſt for thoſe to make uſe of, that oppoſe the Kingdome of Jeſus Chriſt. And well found out, grave *Synod*, *pious Aſſembly*; for ſuch as are your principles, ſuch are your meanes and Inſtruments. And ſaving your Reverence, what have ye done theſe foure yeares, plaid at cards, or onely ſtudied where ye might have the beſt patterne of Church-government to ſerve your owne turne? Ye are but the *Scots* Apes; for ye have not ſtudied a Religion for us out of Gods Word, but ye have borrowed us one out of *Scotland*, as wicked King *Ahaz* brought a patterne of the Altar from *Damaſcus* to *Ieruſalem*: And now it is come to the taſte, it doth not reliſh halfe ſo well as a Soland Gooſe; it goeth downe, ye ſee, but like chopt hay. Truly the Parliament might have ſent for the copie themſelves, and ſo have ſaved you a labour, and the Countrey all the charges of ſo long feeding ſuch a company of Abbey-Lubbers. But to proceed, I hope this gallant Army, though it be thus voted, will not be thereby blaſted. If the Parliament are this Nations ſervants, ſo are they. The Parliament were aſſembled, and ſolemnly vowed before God and all the world, to do judgement and juſtice, the which yet they never did, and to maintaine and

eſtabliſh (the which I believe if they can chooſe, they never will) the rights and liberties of the Commons of *England*, and this Army hath fought and redeemed them, and, as I may ſay, brought them to the Parliaments hands to confirme and eſtabliſh, the which the Parliament ought to do, and, as I conceive, this Army may juſtly challenge, and have juſt cauſe to ſee done; for they have equall intereſt with the Parliament in them, and have adventured much more for them: and as the one hath the word to vote, ſo hath the other the ſword to act.

And therefore ſure they will be ſo wiſe, for ſo it is expected, as not to undertake another Warre in a ſtrange Kingdome, as deſperate, and more dangerous then the former here, for theſe ingratefull mens pleaſures, before they ſee the conditions performed to themſelves, and fellow-Commons of *England*, in this their native Countrey; the which theſe men that have now voted them hence, have ſo frequently and ſo fearefully ſworne and promiſed them before all the world (to wit) the eſtabliſhing of the Lawes, and of the birthright and liberty of this Nation, the which this Army, under God, hath purchaſed by their ſword, for themſelves, their poſterity, and for all the free-borne people of this Land; and if they ſee not theſe things done before they goe, if they go, let them be aſſured they ſhall never have them done after: and if they be not made good unto them in this their native countrey, let them never expect performance of them in another: No, if this party can but get this Army to bee a meanes for the pulling downe their enemies for them there, as they have been here; they hope by that time, few of this Army, or of their friends may ſurvive, to exact any recompence, or fulfilling of Oaths and promiſes of them, but will leave that to them and their deare Brethren, the religious *Scots*, who never brake oath, to performe after their death; and ſo indeed this Covenanting party may happily fulfill one particular of their grand Solemne League and Covenant, in ſetling a uniformity in Religion (when there are none to hinder them) in the three Kingdomes.

So, it is better the Army ſhould firſt ſee the fruits of their travails and perills paſt here, otherwiſe I conceive they have no cauſe, and as little encouragement to make new adventures for Trap-makers, and leave their native Countrey, their wives, children and friends, to the cruell mercies of their haters and perſecuters. Let the covenanting party make uſe of ſuch as they account their own, truſty blades, that will, like themſelves, not onely ſwallow the Covenant, but the Kingdome too, if we will but ſtand ſtill and let them doe what they will, or elſe let them begin againe and

preſſe

preſſe: but I doubt they will not find ſuch a ſimple parcell againe in both Kingdomes, as theſe poore deſpiſed, diſpighted *Independents*, who came in willingly to their helpe, have borne the heat of the day, and have been (under God) their chiefe preſervers, who have been more friendly and faithfull to them, then any of their Heatheniſh Covenanters, and yet now at laſt their reward for all, muſt be only a kick out of doors.

But ſeeing theſe devout Covenanters have ſo ill rewarded this Army and their friends who under God were their Guardians before they had either Army or Guard, I hope the Army will not be ſo unwiſe, but firſt to ſee their own Countrey, friends, and Families ſecured here in *England*, before they ſtirre one foot, or undertake for *Ireland*, *Proximus quiſque ſibi*, every man is neareſt to himſelfe, and as it hath been ſhewed, there are ſpare helps enough beſides, let them therefore firſt ſend an Army of their owne Tribes thither, and ſee if they will doe as much for them there, as this ſame Army hath done here. Is it not better Countrey-men and friends, for this Army to ſtay at home and hold their Weapons in their hands, till they ſee their and our Birthrights, Priviledges, and Liberties, for which both they and we have ſought and adventured our lives and eſtates, ſetled and ſecured here for themſelves and us, their and our wives and families, poſterities, and eſtates? and then if there be cauſe, and they willing, they may ſafely and with comfort goe and help their Neighbours: in the meane time, let them know, it is not wiſdome for them to goe helpe to reare up another mans houſe, and leave their own to lie ruined and waſted, though charity be diffuſive, yet it begins at home.

And although this Army hath both ploughed and ſowed, and made way for a fruitfull crop, yet there be others (their and our enemies) that are ready, if this Army ſhould either diſſolve or depart, to enter into their harveſt, and convert the whole advantage to their owne private uſes, the Army hath fitted the wax, and if they once turne but their backs, this party Covenanters, will ſet to what ſeale they pleaſe, the which they think (like the *Medes* and *Perſians*) cannot be altered, and it is more apparant, it will rather prove the image of the Beaſt, then the durable Statute of Truth. But foraſmuch as they build on Sands, and dawbe with untempered mortar, there is no queſtion but their Clay and Iron will never incorporate; nor cleave together, more then *Nebuchadnezzars* Image; and certainly ſuch men cannot long proſper, more then *Zimri* did, that killed his Maſter.

Theſe and ſuch like corrupt and deceiptfull practices, (deare Countrey-men) are the fruits of viperous Councels produced by traiterous ſpirits, who

who for our Religion have already contracted with the Scots, as wicked King *Ahas* did with *Tiglag Pileſer* concerning the Altar at *Damaſcus*: and now they endeavour by all indirect meanes to cheat and ſpoile us of our Birthrights, that ſo by our ruine and grinding the faces of the poor, they may raiſe to themſelves a ſtock of predominancy and prerogative over us, as witneſs their illegall exerciſe, and daily practice of injuſtice.

Shall we alwaies be troubled with this Generation of Vipers, who like *Janus*, look two wayes, and carry two faces under one hood, that ſpeake right faire to our faces, but deviſe miſchiefe againſt us in their hearts, and vent them in their Councels, that love to be called Patrons, Patrons, but (if they be not prevented) will prove no better to us, then Morter-Peeces. They had better ſpeak plaine Engliſh, and make an Ordinance in plaine termes for the expelling and perſecuting of all honeſt and good men, aboliſhing all Law and Juſtice, the two preſervators of liberty and propriety, as to do it thus in pharaſaicall Characters, for they cannot draw a net ſo cloſe, but a man may ſee through it, nor dig ſo deep to hide their wicked Councells, but the Alſeeing eye of heaven will diſcover them. Thus, ſweet Countrey-men, and free fellow-Commoners of *England*, have I in ſome part diſcovered unto you the ſecret working of this treacherous Myſtery, the very ſubſtance of this plot, and the end of it. And now if ye love ſlavery, favour it, aſſiſt and promote it. Otherwiſe be warned. Rouſe up your ſpirits, and ſecure your ſelves, and your Birth-rights, for which ye have ſpent ſo much blood, and paid ſo deare a price, oppoſe the proceedings, know a reaſon of theſe prepoſterous actions, vindicate your Power, and Priviledges, and cauſe thoſe treacherous Machiavels, your falſe friends, and deceiptfull Servants to be brought forth and judged, that they may receive a reward according to their demerit.

All this conſidered (ſweet Countrey-men) it is better for us to ſing, O how happy were we in fore-ſeeing, then to cry when it is too late, had we wiſt.

And if ye be true *Engliſhmen*, and prize the liberties of your ſelves, and poſterities, ſeeing the fetches and the falſhoods of this ill kind of men, look in time to your ſelves, and to the weale of your native Countrey, and truſt no longer to them, nor be any further deluded by them: Though they uſe never ſo much feigning and fleering, though they looke never ſo gravely and demurely, ſpeak never ſo fairely, declare never ſo ſtrongly, ſweare never ſo devoutly, and faſt never ſo frequently: yet I ſay in reſpect of the premiſſes do not truſt them, nor wait any longer upon them;

But

But remember that our Country-man *Adam* After-wit, hath been too long my Lord Fore-Wits foole. Be taught therefore in time, before yee be taken; and let this I pray you prove a sufficient warning.

Prete capillata, post est, occasio calva.
Take time by the forehead, and loose no opportunity,

Free now or never. Slaves now and ever.

And lastly (my friends) note this, that those men who have now voted, that none but such as have or shall take the Covenant, and conform to the *Presbyterian*-Government, shall be Commander in the new intended Army, nor have the Command of any Garison that is to be kept within this Kingdome, (albeit the non Covenanters were the men that reduced them) will never (ye may be assured) intrust any with any place of Command or Power (after the work is done) in another Kingdom, that will not take the said Covenant, and subscribe to the said *Antichristian* Government. And why then should they fight any more to gaine promotion and power for others, to rule over themselves? Surely this very particular should make all the well affected in the Land, to stand and seriously to consider what is intended against them, and not be so forward to set one foot further for this ingrate, ill Generation. Do they not see plots daily laid to insnare them, and every pulpit full of raylings, & revilings, lyes, & clamours against them? do they not heare themselvs in writings, and Sermons, already censured & sentenced to persecution, even to imprisonment and dust? So that I am confident the Army and their Leaders should not long be in *Ireland*, before (to their great comforts and incouragement) they should heare some of their friends were executed, and multitudes of them imprisoned, in *England*.

But if his Excelency Sir *Thomas Fairfaxes* Commission, be made (as the Earl of *Essexes* was) viz. For the preservation of the Law & Liberties of the Kingdom, and protection of his Majesties Subjects from violence and opression, then without controversy, it is his duty, and all theirs that are (in command) under him, and he and they have lawfull authority thereunto) to stand for the Law and Liberties of this Nation, and to defend the people from all tyranicall pressures and usurpations, for, for this very cause was he intrusted with the Sword: the which the Lord move his and their hearts seriously, now in season, to weigh and consider, for this is a day of trouble and rebuk, and of blasphemy: for

the children are come to the birth, and there is no ſtrength to bring forth. 2 *Kings* 19. 8.

To pretermi what Mr. *Byfield* and Mr. *Love* formerly preached; what elſe but perſecution did Mr. *Vines* in his Rabſhaketh-like Sermon, mean at the mock-faſt, for the ſuppreſſion of hereſies where there were none but (that which is moſt contrary to their Lord-like living) Independency principally ſpoken againſt, the which neither he, nor any tith-munging, antichriſtian Taskmaſter of them all, can prove, or make forth by Gods word to be hereſie, And if he will but truly interpret his then Text, 2 *Pet.* 1, 2, 3, he will find it doth more palpably reprove him, and ſuch as he is, (then any other) who run before they be ſent, come not in by the dores, but creep in at the windowes, teaching for doctrine the traditions and received opinions of men, a doctrin which conſenteth not to the words of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to the doctrin which is according to godlineſſe; but is after their own corruptions, denying the Lord Jeſus that bought them, by with-holding his Kingdome, and ſetting up themſelves and their own Kingdom, above him; following their own pernitious and deſtructive waies and councels, by reaſon whereof every one even abhorreth the dayly ſacrifice, as in *Elies* dayes, and through their inſatiable covetouſneſſe, and intolerable pride, they will make marchandize of the people if they be not prevented: Hath not this man *Vines* and many others of his well fed fellowes 2 or 3 Benefices or ſuch like things (and thoſe no poore ones) a peece? And yet theſe gredy dogs are not ſatisfied, no, they would get into their poſſeſſion the whole inheritance of the Lord. The which God of his mercy prohibit, for the Parliament aſſiſts in it, but no wonder; for ſo did the builders of old, reject the cheif corner ſtone, to the deſtruction of themſelves and their Republick; but upon all the glory ſhall be a defence. *Iſa.* 4. 5.

Now to draw this warning to a full period, take this following ſummary of our preſent Calamities, and conſider it ſeriouſly, conſult, it adviſedly, & accordingly act effectually, for the timely prevention, and preſervation of your ſelves, and your poſtereties, from inſupportable bondage and thraldome.

Brethren.

BRethren and Fellow-Commons; God and the world knowes, that the well-affected party of this Kingdom, (discerned by their voluntary aid to the Parliament) having tryed all possible and faire meanes, as much as any people for number and power of any Kingdom or Nation ever did, by Prayers Assistance, Concurrence, Attendance, Petitions, Oblations Informations, and Discoveries, as well of Treasons, as of utter desolations, and perceiving themselves now at last to be in a farr worse condition, both in number and power (there Lives and Estates, yea and precious time also being so far spent) then they were at the first, and besides, like to loose all, and scarcely to have (or leave) so much as their Lives, Lawes, or Liberties for a prey.

And seeing, by manifold examples of grievous experience, that neither Petitions can be easily accepted, justice truly administred, the presses equally opened, the cryes of the poor heard, the teares of the oppressed considered, the sighes of the prisoners regarded the miseries of the Widdow and Fatherless pittied, nor scarcely any that are in distresse relieved but Lawes any way wrested, most of our freedoms restrained, Ordinances, protestations, Oathes and Covenants slighted, the hearts of all Estates, Kings, Parliament, priest and people obdured, the wicked for the most part absolved, the just oftentimes condemned and most of all in Authority perjured not only

onely by breaking that ſolemn Oath, which themſelves did make and compelling others to take, but nevertheles, by perſecuting thoſe who make cõſcience to keep it, even becauſe they will not break it, In deep ſad ſerious & lamentable conſideration of all theſe grievous proceedings, and as much by feeling the ſmart, as hearing, ſeeing, or knowing the verity thereof, chiefly the oppreſſions, taxations, Inſurrections, Rebellions, Perſecutions, Violences, Robberies, Sequeſtrations, & Cumbuſtions, I with my poore one Talent, inſtead of him that hath Ten, out of a dutifull and conſciencious love, tender and pittifull reſpect to my Nation now in this her great defection, and apparant diſſolution, chiefly for the remnant thereof (who mourn in ſecret both for her great abominations ſins diſſolations, & their own particular tranſgreſſions, & who doutles are marked to eſcape the fury of Gods, fearfull indignation.)

Have uſed my beſt endeavours here both to ſhew the maladies and remedies of this ſick ſwouning, bleeding, and dying Nation, that if God, hath not ordained it like Babel to ſudden inevitable and utter deſtruction, it may yet be cured, and that (according to the Lords uſual dealing, who in the midſt of judgment remembreth mercy) a remnant may be reſerved who in deſpight of Sathan, and all his Inſtruments may do juſtice & judgment, to the praiſe of his glory, So ſhall the Mountaines bring peace to the people, & the little Hils by righteouſnes. Pſal. 72. 3.

FINIS.